

SUMMARY OF JAPAN-AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS DURING
FOREIGN MINISTER ARITA'S TENURE OF OFFICE (FROM NOV.
1938 UNTIL JULY 1939)

(September 2nd 1941)

I. Prior to Minister ARITA assuming his duties as Foreign Minister in November 1938 Ambassador GREW remarked to Premier KONOYE (concurrently holding the post of Foreign Minister) on October 3rd that he wished to discuss orally regarding problems that the U. S. President felt as possessing direct interests, and after stating that, notwithstanding that the respecting of American rights and interests in China as well as the Open-Door Policy as well as Principle of Equal Opportunity had been definitely guaranteed by the former Minister (T.N. Foreign Minister), he regretted to have to declare that the infringing of American rights and interests had not ceased and that the Open Door Policy was still being ignored, and after citing some instances such as Exchange Control and Trade Restrictions etc. in North China, he demanded that prompt and effective measures be taken in order to carry out the guarantee that had been duly made. (Annexed Document No. 1). To this Minister KONOYE replied that Japan's China Policy as well as foreign policy remained unchanged, and that Japan's assertion with regard to the respecting of foreign rights and interests relative to China as well as the maintenance of the Open Door Policy and the Principle of Equal Opportunity remained unchanged, adding that, although in point of fact, there had been cases at times which were not settled satisfactorily due to military strategic necessity or other reasons, he was striving to settle matters as satisfactorily as possible upon the conditions returning to their normal state. He also stated that, with regard to commercial and trade problems, he wished to, after studying same, comply with the Ambassador's request at the earliest possible opportunity.

Ambassador Grew subsequently sent a note embodying the same contents as the foregoing paragraph. (Annexed Document No. 2).

- II. The manner of reply to the aforesaid American Ambassador's note was studied ever since the appointment of ARITA as Foreign Minister and although it had been decided to put off the said reply until conditions had become settled for awhile as it happened to be just before the fall of Canton with the capitulation of Hankow being close at hand, so that the state of affairs was changing rapidly, in view of this matter representing problems which, after all, possess an important bearing to the Nine-Power Pact, after studying the draft of the reply based on the policy of:

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(a) Avoiding all phraseology whatsoever that would reaffirm the principles of the Open Door and Equal Opportunity based on the Nine-Power Pact,

(b) Making them understand that, although the existing rights and interests of Third Powers will be respected, this is not being done as a corollary of the Nine-Power Pact.

(c) Making them understand that the standard laws governing the future economic activities by Third Powers in New China shall be established in conformity with the new conditions, a reply was sent on November 18th to the following effect, in addition to giving explanations to each of the instances cited in the American note and clarifying the point that their claims regarding Infringement of Rights and Interests were unjustified, viz.:

- (1) It is hoped that, inasmuch as military activities are being conducted on a unprecedented scale in East Asia, the United States will note the fact that there may be times when difficulties may occur in executing our intention regarding the respecting of American rights and interests,
- (2) The Empire believes that it will not solve urgent problems of the moment or aid towards the establishing of permanent peace in East Asia by attempting to gauge the present and future state of affairs by ideas or principles in their original form that were applied to the pre-incident state of affairs, especially at this time when the Empire is dashing ahead with the Establishment of a New Order in East Asia and when new conditions are setting in in East Asia.
- (3) Should any Third Power or Powers participate in the gigantic task of Reconstruction of East Asia in the fields of enterprises and trade by appreciating the afore-mentioned points, the Empire shall have no objection whatsoever towards same. (Annexed Document No.3).

III, p.4 When Minister ARITA invited Councillor Dooman of the U. S. Embassy at Tokyo on November 19th and asked about the impressions regarding the recent Japanese Reply, Dooman replied that Ambassador Grew's impression regarding the said Reply seemed to be that "It represented a wholesale denial of the American Demands," whereupon Minister ARITA explained that it would be excusable if the Open Door policy and the principle of Equal Opportunity were applied to the entire world from the start, but it is extremely illogical to apply same today to China only. ARITA then went on to say that his predecessor gave his guarantee regarding the

p.5 respecting of the said principles by being of the belief that the actual prevailing conditions could be made to harmonize with the Open Door Policy and the Principle of Equal Opportunity, but that, in his own opinion, it was no longer possible to expect the said harmony, at the same time explaining the great pains taken by Japan in regard to the said reply, to which Dooman stated that it was extremely regrettable that there were over 300 cases recently remaining unsettled despite their having no connections with military actions and being extremely trivial matters, and that the recent official American note was the result of the American commercial concerns in various parts of China exerting severe pressure on their Home Government, at the same time pointing out that the United States did not make any reference to the Nine-Power Pact.

IV. On inviting Ambassador Grew to Tokyo subsequently on the 21st of the same month and conferring with him on the same principle as per the foregoing paragraph, Grew declared as follows after making the introductory remark that what he would be saying today would not be in the nature of any reply whatsoever to the Japanese Note of the 18th:-

(1) The United States Government has never attempted to exploit China nor extend American influences in China. The United States Government's interpretation of "Open Door" is totally different from the foregoing. In other words, the Principle of Equal Opportunity in regard to Commerce has always been the actual basic principle of the United States.

(2) All of the treaties concerning the Far East embodying the said principle, and to which the United States is a signatory, were concluded for the purpose of preventing the occurrence or likely occurrence of international friction in the Far East, and the United States Government is intent upon checking the present day trend of international anarchy as well as contributing towards the adjustment of international relations as well as restoration of international order, and it is the advocacy of the United States that this object can be attained by peaceful negotiations and agreements as well as by faithful fulfillment of international agreements,

p.6 (3) The Commercial Policy of the United States lies in aiming at international concord by striving for the expansion of foreign trade by means of removing obstacles lying in the way of the international distribution of commodities. I believe that the frequent instances of other countries trying to gain most-favored footings do not contribute towards establishing prosperity in the United States and the world.

(4) On November 3rd Premier KONOYE stated that "Japan will cooperate with any Third Power that appreciates Japan's real intentions and adopts a policy that conforms to the new state of affairs," but what is the concrete meaning of this statement? Surely he does not mean the kind of co-operation whereby, as is being generally rumored, Americans can not engage in trade in China without going through the hands of Japanese merchants.

(5) Minister ARITA expressed his wish that the United States should allow Japan sufficient time to see what the results would be, but there is a limit to the patience of the American people. Considering it impossible to pacify public opinion, the Government has, to begin with, demanded the liberation of the Lower Yangtze region as well as the suspension of bombing of and other interference with churches and their properties situated at considerably far-off distances from the scene of military operations. (Annexed Document No. 4).

p.7 To the foregoing Minister ARITA explained that, in regard to Item (4) of the foregoing paragraph, it is difficult, as was made plain in the last part of our Reply dated the 18th, it was impossible for Japan to recognize the unconditional application of Equal Opportunity and Open Door at the present day when the state of affairs in China has become changed, but that Japan possesses the desire to cooperate with Third Powers in the event of the foregoing becoming understood, at the same time remarking in connection with the rumours as specified at the end of the said paragraph that such a thing was totally impossible and could also not be put into practice, whereupon Grew stated that he felt relieved on hearing the foregoing.

p.8 Minister ARITA further explained that the assertion that Japan's Open Door Policy and Principle of Equal Opportunity might clash with the respecting of rights and interests of Third Powers implied that measures necessary for fostering the closer relationship of Japan and China as well as for ensuring Japan and China's rights of existence might at times necessitate eliminating the application of the aforesaid Principles to some extent, so that there was still considerable room left for economic activities of other countries.

As Grew then asked as to what was meant by the New Order, Minister ARITA replied that same implies the establishing of co-operation between Japan, Manchoukuo, and China in regard to Politics, Economy, and Culture, meaning, as for example, that Political Co-operation is indispensable for exterminating the Anti-Japanese Policy as well as Pro-Communist Policy that have so far been the causes of unrest in the Orient, whereas, furthermore, in regard to Economic Cooperation, it may become necessary, as mentioned above, to

eliminate, to some extent, the application of the Open Door and Equal Opportunity Principles.

Furthermore, on Grew remarking that he considered it necessary for Japan to make some sort of gesture in order to pacify the excited feelings of the general public in the United States, the Minister replied that, although he recognized the need of same on principle, he was not in a position to say any more as the question of Liberation of the Yangtze River had already been replied to.

- V. On December 8th Minister ARITA invited Grew, and after having explained as follows regarding the unanswered points of the foregoing Clause IV, handed to him a written note embodying the said points (Annexed Document No. 5.)

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(1) Referring to the views of the United States as per the former part of Item 2 of the foregoing Clause IV, the application, in their original form, of the various treaties which were concluded at the time for the purpose of preventing international disputes in the Orient would, with the general change of conditions in the world, as well as the new state of affairs that is developing in the Far East, rather hamper the bringing about of Peace and Universal Prosperity.

(2) Equal Opportunity in regard to Commerce is what the Empire has been hitherto demanding of the world, and although we agree, on principle, to the opinion of the United States that Equal Opportunity in regard to Commerce will bring about World Peace, but, as things are at present, good quality and low-priced Japanese goods are meeting with discriminatory treatment all over the world. As regards the gaining of a most-favoured footing by one country in other countries as per Item (3) of the foregoing Clause IV, the Most-Favoured relations between the British Empire with her colonies as well as co-mutually among her colonies were pointed out, at the same time asserting that the contention that in the case of the British Empire it is unavoidable as it applies to a single political unit but that the establishing of economic relations between Japan, Manchukuo, and China similar to those within the British Empire can not be recognized in view of the said three countries not constituting a single political unit, can not be tolerated.

(3) Moreover, it was reiterated that it was Japan's belief that it would by no means contribute towards stabilizing the world to let an economic unit like that of Japan exist on one hand against such large economic units of the British Empire,

the United States and the Soviet Union on the other, and that, as the relations of Japan, Manchoukuo and China in regard to mutual economic cooperation emanated from the afore-mentioned idea, same would not conflict with the prosperity of the world. This collaboration has for its object:-

(a) In regard to the field of enterprise, the guaranteeing of supply of products that are indispensable from the standpoint of national existence. To attain this object there may be enterprises that require the granting of special monopolistic rights in order to foster their development. In regard to such enterprises, Third Powers will be welcomed, within the sphere of the plans of Japan, Manchoukuo, and China, to participate in regard to capital, technique or resources, but the establishment of competitive enterprises shall not be recognized.

(b) Furthermore, in regard to the field of foreign trade, it shall be the principle not to make any special discriminatory treatment by enforcing Customs tariffs or other export and import counter-measures.

To this, Grew remarked that he believed it to be the stand of the United States Government that it could not recognize any one-sided alterations to any treaties or other agreements until the necessary procedure regarding alteration of same be taken conjointly by the countries concerned, after which he stated that it would

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be desirable to prove by actual facts that Japan will not show discriminatory treatment.

VI. On December 26th Grew was invited and told that it was regrettable that, whereas it had already been made clear on repeated occasions that Japan entertained no intention of closing the Chinese Market, the editorial tone of some of the American newspapers and magazines went to show that Japan's real intention was not being understood, whereupon Grew stated that, although the said newspapers and magazines were not necessarily expressing the views of the Government, it was nevertheless true that the American public in general were feeling greatly uneasy regarding Japan's actions in China, also adding that the use of restrictive phraseology, on the occasion of the previous interview such as having stated that it would be necessary to give protection to "certain" industries and "special" enterprises is liable to create uneasiness regarding Actual Treatment. To this the Minister replied that such restrictions should not be interpreted in a broad sense, whereupon Grew again expressed his desire to have the foregoing demonstrated by actual facts.

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On that occasion Ambassador Grew remarked that it was regrettable

to have issued a statement like that of November 3rd regarding the Open Door and Equal Opportunity in China notwithstanding that same had been guaranteed by Foreign Minister GHU as well as Minister KONOYE, whereupon the Minister repeated the same explanation that he had made to Councillor Doeman on November 19th.

VII. On December 31st Ambassador Grew visited the Vice-Minister (adding that, although he had visited the Vice-Minister due to Minister ARITA being away on a trip, he wished it to be understood that same would have the same results as having visited the Minister) and handed him an official note expressing the views of the United States in regard to Japan's Reply to the United States under date of November 18th. The Vice-Minister asked for an explanation of the main points of the said note, to which Grew explained that same expresses the views of the United States Government as follows:-

(1) The so-called New State of Affairs in the Far East can not be created only by Japan's ex-parte Declaration, but should be recognized only by means of a Conference.

(2) It is true that the Powers including the United States possess special rights in China, and although the United States has always been advocating that such discriminatory special rights should be abolished and that China should be granted an equal (T.N. original says UNEQUAL) position, it is believed that such changes in the state of affairs should also be effected at a Conference of the Powers, and also added that, as the United States possesses special interest in the state of affairs in the Far East, the United States would announce same at the first opportunity. (Annexed Document No. 6).

VIII. Ever since then, the conversations between the Minister and Ambassador Grew became suspended, but on the occasion of Ambassador Grew's temporary return to the United States (T.N. the original specifies KIOHO implying return to Japan, probably an error) in May 1939, Minister ARITA handed the said Ambassador a note as per Annexed Document, and Premier HIRANUMA also requested him to convey a message addressed to Secretary of State Hull. (Annexed Documents Nos. 7 and 8.)

C E R T I F I C A T E

I.I.S. Doc. No. 1573

Statement of Source and Authentication

I, ODO Nagaharu, hereby certify that I am officially connected with the Japanese Government in the following capacity: Assistant Chief of the Archives Section, Japanese Foreign Office, and that as such official I have custody of the document hereto attached consisting of 13 pages, dated 2 Sept. 1941, and described as follows:

Summary of Japanese-American Negotiations During Foreign Minister ARITA's Term of Office (from Nov. 1938 until July 1939).

I further certify that the attached record and document is an official document of the Japanese Government, and that it is part of the official archives and files of the following named ministry or department (specifying also the file number or citation, if any, or any other official designation of the regular location of the document in the archives or files): Foreign Ministry.

Signed at TOKYO on this
31st day of October, 1946.

(s) Nagaharu Odo
(SEAL)
Ass. Chief, Archives Section
Official Capacity

Witness: (s) M. Emura

Statement of Official Procurement

I, RICHARD H. LARSH, hereby certify that I am associated with the General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, and that the above described document was obtained by me from the above signed official of the Japanese Government in the conduct of my official business.

Signed at TOKYO on this
31 da. of October, 1946

(s) Richard H. Larsh
NAME

Witness: Eric W. Fleisher, 2nd Lt. AUS Investigation Division, I.S
Official Capacity

4989/573

二 前記米國大使書翰ニ付テハ有用大臣就任
以事回答方研究中ナリ之ヲ當時廣東攻略
直前ニシテ又漢口陥落ニ迫リ事態ハ急遽ニ
變化ヲ遂ケツツアリタルヲ以テ一應事態ノ落着ク
ク待ツコトナル處本件ハ結局九箇國條約、
重要ナル國聯ヲ有スル問題トナリ

(イ) 九箇國條約ヲ根據トスル門戶開放機會均等
ノ原則ヲ再確認スルヲ如キ辭句ハ一切ニ避
ルコト

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(ロ) 既存ノ三國權益ハ之ヲ尊重スルヲ以テ
九箇國條約「コロ

1573.

リ山トシテ之ヲなましニ非カニトテ了解セム。

(ハ) 将来新支那ニ於ける第三國ノ経済活動ヲ律スル規程、
自ラ新なる情勢ニ即應ジテ樹立スルべきモノトテ了解
セラルト

ヲ方針トシテ調査研究セ、結果十一月八日書簡ヲ呈示、
各事柄ニ付テ説明ヲ加ヘ之方ノ權益侵害ナリトス主張高
ラセテ明ニ示シ上

(ニ) 東亞ニ於テハ未嘗有、軍事行動行ハルヲ以テ本國
權益尊重ノ意圖ヲ實行スルニ一時トシテ障礙ヲ生スル
ハ諒承ル所旨

(三) 帝國ノ東亞新秩序建設ニ邁進シツルニ於テ
東亞ノ天地ニ新なる情勢ノ展開シツル時事変前、
事能ニ適用アリト観念セラルる原則ヲ以テ其儘現
在及今後ノ事能ヲ律セトスルニ於テ、問題解決ヲ
廢スル以テ作カシムルニ東亞恒久平和ノ確立ニ資スル
ニ作カシム信スル旨

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(三) 才三國ニ於テ左ノ趣旨ヲ了解、上全書要項見、諸
分野ニ對シ東亞再建、大業ニ参加スルニ於テ、帝國
ニシテ何等之ニ反對ノ意圖ナキ
旨(答書) (別紙第三)

1573.

三、十一月十九日在京市國大使館「トウキン」参事
館ヲ招致シ有田大匠ヨリ今次日本側回答ニ
対スル感想ヲ向ヘニ對シ「トウキン」大使ハ左
回答スル「米國側要求ヲ全面的ニ否定セザル
ト」感想ヲ抱キ居ル如シト答ヘタリ以テ有田大匠
ヨリ又米内々開放機會均等主義ヲ
全世界ニ宣フ行フ事モ角今日迄
シテ行ハトスルニ甚ダ不合理的「前任大匠
カ右原則、尊重ハ保持證ヲ與ヘル」現實
ノ事能ハト内々開放、機會均等、尊重トヲ調和
シ得ベト信シテ爲ラセタカ自分トシテ本件
調和ヲ期待サルニ至ルモ「トウキン」今次回答
ニ因テ日本側苦心ヲ説明セル處「トウキン」最近、
如ノ軍事行動ニ関係セズ且如ノ此種ノ事
柄ニモ拘束未解決、案件

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三百余より居る支那各地、米國商社力宣シ、本國ヲ壓迫
セ、結果先般、米側公文トナリタル文ヲ減^二遺憾^一ナリト
述^レ米國側モ凡^レ箇國條約ヲ云々セサリシ次第ヲ指摘セ

四、次々同月二十一日在京^ニ、大使ヲ招致シ前項同様、
趣旨ヲ會談セ^ル處、ハ本日中上^ル所ハ何寄十八日付、
日本側公文ニ對ス^ル回答ノ性質ヲ有スモ、ニ非スト前置シ
後、

(一) 支那、榨取及支那於^テ勢力範圍、問題ニ付^テハ米國政府
ハ亦々曾^テ右、如キモノトシテ米國政府、解ス^ル門
戸開放ハ右、如キモノトハ全然趣^キ異ニス即チ通商上、機
會均等主義^ニ米國、根本原則アリシナリ。

(二) 右根本原則ヲ具體化セ^ル極東ニ關ス^ル諸條約ニシテ米國
ノ加入シ居^ルモ、ハ凡^レ極東於^テ發生シ又ハ發生、便^ニ國際
間、摩擦ヲ防^グコトヲ企圖シテ終^ルモノニシテ米國政
府ハ現下、國際的無政府、傾向ヲ阻止シ國際肉肉、調
整及國際秩序、恢復ニ貢獻シ度キ意向ナルカ右カ平和的
交渉及協定並ニ國際取極、誠實^ニ履行ニ依^リテ達成セ^ル
ル^ニキコトハ米國、唱道シ居^ルナリ。

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(三) 米國、通商政策、國際間、物資流通、對之障礙、除去、依リ外國貿易、擴張、因リ以テ國際的調和、因リ在リ、是々他國、於テ特惠的成長ヲ察サント、る力如キハ米國、及世界、繁榮ヲ確立ス、所以ニ非スト信ス

(四) 十月三日、北緯、首相、第三國ニシテ日本、真意ヲ察得、新華能ニ適応ス、政策ヲ採ルニ於テ、日本、之ト協力ス、ト云ハタカ、其、具體的、内容、如何、甚間ニ傳ハル、如ク、日米商人、一、手ヲ經サシ、米、人、及、邦、於テ貿易、心得、又、トイフ、如キ、協力ニ、非サル、云

(五) 有田大臣、米國側ニ於テ、猶ス、時ヲ以テス、據希、望セ、米國民、忍耐、ニ、限、度、ナリ、政府、モ、輿論、ニ、打、勝、キ、難シ、ト、云、ハ、揚子江下流地域、開放、並ニ、軍手行動ヲ去ル、ト、過ニ、遠キ、地域ニ、於テ、教會、並ニ、其、財產、對テ、爆撃、及、其他、干渉、停止ヲ要請セリ

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並ニ日米友好確立、以テ三基ヲ措置スル
トシ右主義適用、或ハ範圍ニ於テ排他
スルコトアルニシテ、意味ニテ外國、經濟活動
ニ大ナル範圍を得、且ハ譯サリト説明
セラル、新秩序ト、何ヲ意味スルコト
同ハシ、以テ有田大臣ヨリ右ニ日米友誼三國間
、改定、經濟、文化、協力ヲ確立スルコトニ
例ハ、今日ノ東洋不安、原因ナリト排他
政策及發展政策、根絶ヲ期スルコト、改定
的協力ニ決スルコトニシテ、又經濟的協力
ニ於テ、前途、通リ、或ハ經路近門ヲ開放、
徹底均等、適用ヲ排他スルコトアルト
云ハ、今協力ヲ意味スルコトニシテ、
尙、米國民一般、感懷興奮シ思ハ
付、之ヲ鎮靜、爲日本側ヨリ何等カ、不
快ヲ示スルコト必要ト思フスト述ヘタルニ
付、大臣ヨリ右、必要ノ主義トシテ之ヲ認
メ揚子江南河問題、如キ、既ニ回答済ニ
今日、是、以テ言ハスト答ヘリ
五、吉田首相、大使、來訪ヲホシ、前記、米回答
、英、蘭、有田大臣ヨリ、通、達、其、趣旨、
書物、手交、(副紙中五) (前記四、) (前記、)

DOC 1573

米側見解ニ対シ、締約当時、東洋ニ於テハ國際
紛争防止ヲ目的トシテ作ラレタル諸條約モ在界ニ於
テ一般情勢ノ變化ト東亞ニ發展ニツツアル新情
勢ノ下ニ於テ之ヲ其ノ儘適用スルハ却テ平和ト一
般ノ繁榮ヲ齎ス所以ニ非ス

(2) 商業上ノ機会均等ハ從來帝國在界ニ向テ要
求ニ來レル所ニシテ商業上ノ機会均等カ在界、
平和ヲ齎ストナス米側見解ノ原則トシテ達成
ナルモ現状ニ於テハ良貨低廉ノ日本品ハ世界到ル所
ニテ差別待遇ヲ受ルツツ有前記四、五ノ二國、
他國ニ於ケル特惠的地位云々ニ付テハ英本國ト其
屬領相互間ノ特惠關係ヲ概括シ英帝國ハ
一政治的單位ナシハ已ウ得ヤルモ日滿ニ然ラズ
ルヲ以テ左三國内ニ英帝国内ニ於ケルガ如キ經濟
關係ノ樹立セラルル事ヲ容認シ得スト、論ハ首肯
シ得ス

(3) 更ニ英帝國及蘇聯ノ如キ大經濟單位カ在シ
他方日本ノ如キ經濟單位ヲ在セシメトスルガ如
キハ決シテ在吾等ノ安定セシムル所以ニ非スト
ハ日本、信念ニ日滿支經濟相互協力ノ關係
ハ在、遂ニ日滿支經濟相互協力ノ在界、繁榮ト
矛盾スルモノニ非ズ本協力ノ目的トスル所ハ
(4) 企業ノ分野ニ於テハ國家存立上ノ必要

no. 9

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No. 10

ナル生産物、供給、確保ヤトスルニアリ
如目的、爲ニ独占の特権ヲ与ヘ其、
發展ヲ圖ルニ必要、アル企業モアルニ
此種企業ニ付テハ亦三國カ日滿支側
ノ計畫、範圍内ニ於テ資本、技術、
物質上ノ追加ヲ必要トシ之ヲ歡迎スルモ
競争的企業、設立ハ認メサルナリ
(b) 又貿易ノ分野ニ於テハ平常状態
アリテ、關稅其他、輸出入制ニ
特殊、差別待遇ヲ与ササルヲ以テ原則
トス
如ニ計ハルニ條約其他、將來ニ於テ
是タルト、關係國ノ集ニテ之ヲ變更
スル手續ヲ取ル迄ハ一方的ニ變改スルコト
ヲ承認シ得サルコト、本國政府、建前
ナリト思料ストモ、更ニ日本カ差別待遇
ヲ与ササルコトヲ

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事實を依り証明スルコト望ミキ日述(タリ)

六月二十三日「ウ」ヲ拒致之先般來慶次我方

ヨリ支那市場ヲ閉鎖スル意キコトヲ明ニ

来リタル拘ラス米國、新聞雜誌等、論

調ガ我「真意」ヲ解セ凡モノハ遺憾ナ

ト述ヘタル處「ウ」右新聞雜誌ハ又スモ

政府、意向ヲ代辯スルモ非ス但ニ米國民一般

カ日本、支那ニ於テ行動ニ付多大ノ不安ヲ懷

キ居ルハ事實ニテ前回會談ニ於テモ例ハ

「或ル種」ノ工業、特別ノ企業ニ付テ保護

ヲ加ル必要アリト述ヘタルカ如キ制限的ニ用俾

「有ル身」實際上ノ待遇ニ関シ不安ヲ生スルカ

ナト述ベタル以テ大匠ヨリ斯ル制限ハ決平「ウ」

解釋セシムルモ非ス「説明セ」ル處「ウ」ハ重キ

右「實際」ニ於テ示ス様希望ナリ

其際「ウ」ハ使、支那ニ於テ門ノ開放機會

均等ニ關シテ「前任」諸大臣、保障アリ「近衛」

大臣モ保障ヲ多ヘシト拘ラス

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十二月三日、如平聲明ヲ奉也ニハ遺憾ナリト述ハタルヲ
以テ大臣ヨリ十二月十九日「ドウマニ」參事官ニ對シ
タルト同様、説明ヲ繰返シタリ
十二月三十日「カル」大使次官ヲ來訪シ（有田大臣旅行
中ニ參事官ヲ來訪セルモ効果ハ大臣ニ對スルモ
ト同様正モ不諒解ナリタキニ日附言カリ）
十月十日附、我カ對米回答ニ對シ米國側
ノ見解ヲ表示セル公文ヲ手交セルヲ以テ次官
ヨリ右公文ノ要旨、説明ヲ求メタル處「カル」
大使、右ハ（東亞、新事態ニ）モハ日本側
ノ一方的宣言ニ依リ作り出サレタルニ非スニ會
談ニ依リテコソ認めルル下ニ米國ノ會ハ列國
カ支那ニ各種ノ特權ヲ有シ居ルハ事實ニモ斯
ル不平等の特權ヲ排シ出東得ル限リ速カニ
支那ニ不平等的地位ヲ與フルコトハ米國ノ豫テ
ヨリ主張シタル所ニカ其ハ事態、變更无
列國ノ會議ニ於テ爲サルベキモノナリト信スル
米國政府ノ見解ヲ開陳セルモノナリト説明ニ伴フ
（米國ノ極東ノ事態ニ特別ノ関心ヲ有スルヲ以テ
米國、最初ノ機會ニ之ヲ發表スル日附言セリ
別紙才六）

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ハ爾來大臣及「ク」大使會談停止セラ
ルニ至リタルカ昭和十四年五月「ク」大使
一時歸朝ニ際之有國大臣同大使別紙
ノ如キ書物ヲ手交シ又平沼首相ヨリモ
「ル」國務長官宛「メ」一「ク」傳達
方ヲ依頼セリ別紙ヲ七才ハ

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有国外務大臣在任中（自昭和十三年十二月
至昭和十四年七月）
ニ於ケル日米交渉概要

一、昭和十三年十二月有田大臣外務大臣トシテ就任前
十月三日「グルー」大使ハ近衛兼攝外相ニ對シ米國
大統領カ直接ニ利害關係ヲ感シ居ル問題ニ付
ハ諸般致度前在任大臣ヨリ在支米國權益並ニ門戶
開放機會均等主義、尊重ニ付明確ニ保障ス
ルニ拘ラヌ遺憾ナク米國權益、侵害ハ止メ門戶
開放主義ハ依然トシテ無視セラレ居ルコトヲ認メザルヲ得
ストテ北支ニ於ケル為替管理、貿易勿制限等、事例
ヲ舉ゲタル上即時且有効ニ手段ヲ講シ以テ従来、
保障ヲ履行サシメトテ要請スト述タルニ對シ（別紙第一）
近衛大臣ヨリ帝國、對支方針並ニ對外方針ハ不變
ニシテ支那ニ與スル外國權益尊重並ニ門戶開放機會
均等、維持ニ與スル帝國、主張ハ不動、モ、テリ唯
實際上軍作戦上、又モ其他、理由ニテ時ニ満足
ナル解決ヲ見ザルモ、モリタルヲ事能カ正常ニ復スル
ニ從ヒ出ルルヲ満足ニ解決ヲ得ル確努力ヲ行フ通
商之並ニ貿易上ノ問題ニ付テ研究、上成ルヘク早キ
機會ニ即希望ニ添フ種解決致度自述ス
次ニ「グルー」大使ヨリ前項ノ商標、内容、書翰ヲ
送付越セリ（別紙第二）

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證明書

「ミット」文書局 第

号

國際檢察部 第一五七三 号

典據及公正ニ関スル證明

余、林馨、余が下記、資格ニ於テ、即チ外務省文書課長トシテ、日本
政府ト公的関係ニ在リモ、ナルコト、並ニ該官吏トシテ余が茲ニ添附セラル
ル、十三頁ヨリ成ル、十九百四十二年ノ昭和十六年ノ九月二日付、下記題名
即チ省田外務大臣在任中（昭和十三年十一月）ニ於ケル日米交渉概要、文
書、保管ニ任シ居ルコトヲ茲ニ證明ス

余、更ニ添附、記録及リ文書が日本政府、公文書ナルコト、並ニ右が下記名称
、省又ハ郵局、公文書類ニ綴、一部ナルコトヲ證明ス。（著シ下ニ、綴番号
又ハ引用、其、他公文書類又ハ綴ニ於ケル該文書、正規所在、公式名稱ニ附記
ス）

一、外務省

十九百四十六年ノ昭和二十一年ノ九月二十三日

東京ニ於テ署名

當該官吏署名欄

右、者、公的資格

證人

林 馨 (印)

外務省文書課長

民立 辰春

公正人手ニ関スル證明

余、RICHARD H. LARSH、余が聯合國最高指揮官總司令部ニ関係トシテ、
ナルコト、並ニ下記題名、文書、余が公務上日本政府、上記署名官吏ヨリ入手シ
ルモ、ナルコトヲ茲ニ證明ス。

十九百四十六年ノ昭和二十一年ノ九月二十四日

東京ニ於テ署名

氏名欄 Richard H. Larsh

右、者、公的資格 檢察官廳長

證人 1/4 T. Toguch